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way against the advice of the officers, including Mr. Debs), is made to appear much more alarming than it was in fact, by the statement that in the midst of it a large body of men marched upon the national capital (Vol. I, p. 534). Such a degree of aggressiveness the strikers never thought of exhibiting, and it is evident that M. Levasseur has identified the Coxey movement (occurring weeks earlier) with the great strike. The men who did march on Washington were a body representing themselves as workmen out of employment, professing only the purpose of petitioning Congress, and chiefly dangerous to owners of poultry. It is also of course an error to speak of the president calling upon the supreme court for its opinion on a point of law (Vol. I, p. 163) as the court gives decisions only in actual litigation. Again, the distinction between the two chief political parties as favoring or opposing the extension of Federal authority (Vol. I, p. 445) can no longer be accepted. It is indeed quite possible, or even probable, that the Democratic party would now be rather more ready than its opponent to allow any increase of Federal authority. It is not an accident that the Democrats have recently acted so often in conjunction with the somewhat socialistic Populists whose tendency is to widen the activity of governments of every kind—national, state, and municipal—without caring much whether one agency or another is employed.

Professor Levasseur writes in the most friendly spirit imaginable. He is always more inclined to excuse or approve than to find fault, exhibiting once more the readiness to appreciate the good qualities of a foreign nation, which so many French writers have recently shown with a rather astonishing frankness, in writing of their Saxon neighbors and which we have not been sufficiently ready to imitate with reference to France.

AMBROSE PARÉ WINSTON.

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*Problems of Modern Industry.* BY SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB.  
London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1898. 8vo, pp. 286.

THIS volume is a collection of articles, many of which have already appeared in the current magazines. With the exception of the first two essays, "The Diary of an Investigator" and "The Jews of East London," little will be found that is not contained in the author's more detailed work on Industrial Democracy. The present volume, therefore, will be of interest chiefly to those who have not access to

the latter, and who wish, in condensed form and at smaller price, the ultimate conclusions rather than the data from which they were derived.

The essays entitled "Socialism, True and False," and "The Difficulties of Individualism," are of special interest because they clearly define the position of the English Fabians and make possible the differentiation of this group of thinkers from the early Marxian socialists.

Like many writers of his time, Marx read history in the light of the French Revolution, and to this is due to a great extent what may be termed his cataclysmic theory of social evolution, which is, in brief, as follows:

The basic economic conditions change slowly and almost imperceptibly. Dependent political and religious institutions for a time undergo no corresponding change, until at last divergence between form and reality becomes too great, and there follows a social upheaval, from which arise new political and religious institutions corresponding to and reflecting existing economic conditions.<sup>1</sup> This social upheaval takes the form of a class struggle; and it is the conservatives under the dying régime who resist inevitable change and are responsible for the violent form which the revolution always has taken, and which it seems likely to take.

The present is a period of great divergence between political institutions and economic conditions. A social upheaval is, therefore, close at hand. From this theory was developed with rigorous consistency a practical program. The existing state is anachronistic, and therefore all efforts to increase its power or extend its influence are reactionary. Things must grow worse before they can be better. Whatever tends to alleviate temporarily the condition of the masses, tends to lessen discontent, which is the great motive force working for progress. Trade-unionism is itself reactionary, and is to be encouraged only because through organization of any kind the proletariat are taught the power of concerted action. Until the time is ripe, there are but two things to be done—to organize the proletariat and to foster

<sup>1</sup> The rigidity of political institutions is such that those of one economic age are not an evolutionary development from those of the preceding age, and are to be understood only if considered as an adaptation of political form to economic conditions. From existing political institutions, therefore, it is impossible to determine future political development. The guiding clue to political evolution, to religious evolution—in a word, to social evolution—can be found only in the changing economic structure.

social discontent. Such a program could gain enthusiastic adherents only so long as the belief was prevalent that the social upheaval was near at hand. As this belief fades out, the leaders of the Social Democracy have been forced to adopt a policy more and more distinctly opportunist, the movement culminating in the work of the last German convention.

Sharply contrasted with this theory of Marx is that of the Fabians. Wide divergence between economic conditions and political institutions, resulting finally in the complete overthrow of the latter, is not, in their view, the normal course of social development. But all institutions are in process of gradual change and readjustment. While the most enthusiastic socialists are to be expected from that class which will gain most by the extension of the community's activity, yet society is not divided horizontally into a reactionary and a progressive class.

Those who have forced directly upon their notice the larger aspects of the problem, those who are directly responsible for the collective interests of the community, can now hardly avoid, whether they like it or not, taking the socialist view. Each minister of state protests against socialism in the abstract, but every decision that he gives in his own department leans more and more away from the individualist side.

Existing political organizations are not reactionary, and socialism is simply

the steady expansion of representative self-government into the industrial sphere. Industrial democracy must, therefore, necessarily be gradual in its development, and cannot for long ages be absolutely complete. The time may never arrive, even as regards material things, when individual is entirely merged in collective ownership or control, but it is matter of common observation that every attempt to grapple with the difficulty brings us nearer to that goal.

Turning from the theoretical essays to those which deal with questions of practical reform, it is interesting to note that these writers are in substantial agreement with others experienced in social work as to the end to be attained by labor legislation. The state is deliberately to raise the standard of efficiency and to assume responsibility for all those whom it thereby excludes from competitive industry.

In support of this policy it is urged that the state will simply be hastening a result that unguided economic forces are tending to produce. The introduction of machinery, the establishment of a trade-union wage and factory regulations, are raising the standard of efficiency

in one industry after another. The inefficient are being crowded into the few employments in which it is still economical to employ low-grade, poorly-paid labor rather than machinery. Poor pay, originally the result of inefficiency, becomes the cause of a still greater inefficiency, while the demand for untrained, casual labor is itself a cause of the supply.

But let it be understood that failure to reach a certain standard condemns one to loss of freedom, and a new incentive will be furnished to individual effort. Let the state once realize that it must support all whom it does not train to normal efficiency, and practical technical instruction will supersede mediæval conventionalities in education.

The plan is undoubtedly radical, but it is sound in theory and is indorsed by experts.

KATHARINE FELTON.

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*The American Federation of Labor*, by MORTON A. ALDRICH, No. 4 of Vol. III, *Economic Studies*, published for the American Economic Association. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898. 12mo, pp. 47.

MR. MORTON'S monograph presents in succinct form the essential facts relating to the highest organization of trades unions in the United States. His sources of information though meager are official, the reports of annual conventions of the Federation of Labor, the files of its official journal, pamphlets published by its authority, and the compilation he has made will be of much service in a field almost without written history.

It was no slight task, from the material at hand, to give as accurately as Mr. Morton has given, an outline of the organization and work of the federation. In presenting the relation of the federation to affiliated bodies he has not been quite so successful, and a critic should perhaps point out that national trades unions antedate the birth of the federation, and national conventions of trade organizations were not instituted upon suggestion of President Gompers of the federation, as a reading of page 225 of this pamphlet seems to suggest, but long preceded the first meeting of the federation, and are general among trades unions including those not affiliated with the federation. This is a vital point, since an understanding of the philosophy